

FILE NO. 709

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STATEMENT OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT REGARDING JAPAN'S
NON-PARTICIPATION IN THE CONFERENCE OF THE
NINE POWER TREATY SIGNATORIES.

October 27th, 1937.

The Japanese Government, having replied to the invitation of the Belgian Government to the Conference of the Signatories of the Nine power Treaty of 1922, take this opportunity of making public at home and abroad a statement of their views.

1. China has witnessed the rise and fall of countless regimes since the Revolution of 1912, but her foreign policy has been consistently one of anti-foreignism. Especially since 1924, when the Kuomintang set up the Nationalist Government in Canton and entered into alliance with the Communists as a means of winning control of the central administration, the anti-foreign policy began to be pursued with unprecedented vigour and ruthlessness, and anti-foreign sentiments were kindled ablaze among the populace. The memory is still fresh of the way in which foreign powers, one after another, were victimized and deprived of their vested rights and interests. It happens that Japan has been made for the past ten years the principal target of this anti-foreign policy of China.

Japan has always striven to promote friendship and cooperation among the nations of East Asia, in the firm conviction that therein lies the key to the stability of that region. Japan welcomed the deepening of Chinese national consciousness which followed upon the Revolution, believing that it would conduce to intimate Sino-Japanese collaboration, and she adopted the policy of meeting the legitimate national aspirations of China to the utmost possible extent. For instance, in 1926 Japan took the lead in assisting China to recover her customs autonomy, and took a firm stand in favour of China on the

question of the abolition of extra-territoriality. Japan, so cultivating China's good-will, looked patiently and eagerly forward to a favourable response that would consort with her ideal of friendship and cooperation. However, China showed no signs of appreciation of this sympathetic attitude on the part of Japan. On the contrary, she hoisted still higher the banner of anti-Japanism, and seemed resolved to annihilate all Japanese rights and interests in China.

The Nanking Government employed anti-Japanism as a convenient tool in domestic politics for the mobilization of public opinion in support of their regime, and resorted to the unheard-of tactics of making it the foundation of moral education in the army and in the schools, so that even innocent children and youths were taught to look upon their friendly neighbour country as an enemy! As a result, not only were the peaceful trade and economic activities of Japan interrupted, but even the very lives of Japanese nationals were jeopardized. This anti-Japanese campaign finally took the form of organized terrorism as in the cases of the killing of a Japanese blue-jacket at Shanghai in November, 1935, and of the subsequent murderous attacks upon Japanese subjects at Swatow, Chongtu, Pakhoi, Hankow and Shanghai, and the bombing of Japanese residence at Changsha and Swatow. In the face of the alarming situation the Japanese Government remained calm and forbearing. Urgent demands were repeatedly made upon the Nanking Government for the reversal of their disastrous policy, but to no avail. Then towards the end of last year there occurred the Sian Incident, in which Chiang Kai-shek was held captive for some days. Though the exact circumstances surrounding that sensational incident remain a mystery, it is an indisputable fact that shortly afterward Communist elements, gaining the ascendancy in the Nanking Government, began to conduct campaigns of disturbance in North China and Manchoukuo under the banner of

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"Anti-Japanese People's Front", which finally led to the Lukouchiao Incident of July 7 of this year, in which Japanese soldiers were unlawfully fired upon by Chinese troops in the outskirts of Peiping.

2. Upon the occurrence of the Lukouchiao Incident the Japanese Government, desirous of averting a possible Sino-Japanese crisis, immediately formulated a policy of non-aggravation and local settlement, and devoted their best efforts toward bringing about an amicable solution, despite the intolerable situations that were created, one after another, by the Chinese on the spot. On the other hand the Nanking Government, in violation of the Umezu-Ho Agreement, moved north the vast forces under their direct command, to threaten the Japanese garrisons, and also instigated local Chinese armies against Japan. The situation was thus aggravated until a general clash between the two countries became inevitable. It should be recalled that the Nanking Government, which employs anti-Japanism as an instrument of internal unification, had been conducting for some years a militaristic propaganda aimed at Japan, and that at the same time, by importing vast quantities of munitions, constructing fortifications, and giving intensive training to the troops, they had succeeded in building up strong armaments, so that their military men grew over confident of their own strength and the people themselves were deluded into putting an exaggerated estimate upon their country's fighting power. A belligerent spirit towards Japan came to prevail throughout the land. Long before the present outbreak, Chinese newspapers and magazines were accustomed to call Japan the "enemy country" and Japanese their enemies. At the time of the Lukouchiao Incident the Nanking Government being driven to action against Japan by the internal situation they themselves had created, Japan's cautious attitude and her policy of local settlement were both doomed to utter failure.

With the aggravation of the situation all Japanese residents not only in

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North China but also in Central and South China became exposed to imminent danger, and were compelled to evacuate en masse, abandoning the enterprises that they had toilsomely built up during long years in the past. At the same time the Chinese in Shanghai, in contravention of the 1932 Truce Agreement, secretly set out to construct military works in the demilitarized zone and to perfect their war preparations. Accordingly in June last the Japanese Government made a request for a special conference of the Powers concerned, and called the attention of the Chinese Government to the matter. The Chinese refused to alter their attitude, but upon the outbreak of the armed conflict in North China, they moved troops into the prohibited zone in flagrant violation of the Truce Agreement, and finally following upon the murder of an officer and a man belonging to the Japanese Landing Party on August 9, they launched an attack upon the International Settlement. While the Japanese authorities were still engaged in negotiations with the representatives of the Powers concerned, in a desperate attempt to prevent hostilities with extreme patience and forbearance and bearing serious strategical disadvantages, the Chinese began to shell and bomb the Japanese quarter of the Settlement as well as the Japanese garrison defending it, with a view to annihilating the 30,000 Japanese residents as well as the Japanese forces who were hopelessly outnumbered by the Chinese armies. There-upon Japan was compelled to take counter-measures in self-defence.

As is clear from the foregoing account, the fundamental cause of the aggravation of the present affair is to be found in the policy of the Nanking Government who moved large, threatening forces into North China in contravention of the Umezui-Ho Agreement, and also tore up the Truce Agreement by marching troops on the International Settlement. Japan was compelled to take up arms in self-defence,

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and she has chosen this opportunity to make the Nanking Government revised their attitude for the sake of the permanent peace of East Asia. Therefore, the present affair can never be settled until the Nanking Government mend their ways, abandon once for all their anti-Japanese policy and accept Japan's policy of cooperation and collaboration between the two countries.

3. It should be remembered that one of the important factors underlying Nanking's feverish agitations of more recent years against Japan is the action taken by the League of Nations at the time of the Manchurian Incident. That body then adopted a resolution framed in utter disregard of the realities of the situation in East Asia, which strongly stimulated China in her anti-Japanese Policy. Now the League has once more taken up the appeal of the Nanking Government. Without going fully into the real causes of the present affair, it has concluded on the basis of false reports that the bombing of the military works in strongly fortified Nanking and Canton was an attack upon defenceless cities, and adopted the resolution of September 27 condemning Japan. Again on October 6 the Assembly of the League of Nations not only concluded that Japan's action constituted a violation of the Anti-Jar Pact and the Nine Power Treaty but also adopted a resolution which openly calls for assistance to China. Such proceedings on the part of the League only fall in with the cunning scheme of the Nanking Government to exert pressure upon Japan by inviting the intervention of third Powers, and serve no useful end but to encourage China in her resolve to oppose Japan to the last and to render a settlement of the affair more difficult than ever. It must be said that the League of Nations is repeating the error that it committed but a few years ago.

Japan's action is a measure of self-defence taken in the face of Chinese challenge, and obviously there can be no question of violation of the Nine

Power Treaty. Moreover, as compared with the time when that treaty was concluded, the situation of East Asia to-day has been rendered totally different, owing to the infiltration of Communist influence and the changes of internal conditions prevailing in China. In any case, as regards the conference that has been convened of the signatories to the Nine Power Treaty, it is a foregone conclusion that a majority of the participants will hold themselves bound by the above-mentioned resolutions of the League of Nations, and even if Japan took part in its deliberations, no fair and just results could ever be expected therefrom as in the case of the League meeting at the time of the Manchurian Incident. Especially as this Conference is to be attended by Powers which are not directly interested in East Asia, it is calculated to arouse popular feeling both in Japan and China, thereby complicating the situation still further but contributing nothing toward a solution. The Japanese Government have, therefore, decided to decline the invitation.

The Japanese nation, rising as one man, is united in the determination to surmount all obstacles for the purpose of effecting a speedy settlement. Japan is by no means indifferent towards international cooperation. But the Sino-Japanese difficulties can be solved only through direct negotiations between the two Powers on whom falls the common burden of responsibility for the stability of East Asia. What is needed is the elimination of Nanking's anti-Japanese policy and the Communist elements which are identified with it, so that there may be established an enduring peace based upon Sino-Japanese unity and cooperation. Japan never looks upon the Chinese people as an enemy, nor does she harbour any territorial designs. It is rather her sincere wish to witness the material and spiritual advancement of the Chinese nation. And it is her desire to promote cultural and economic cooperation with foreign

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Powers regarding China, while at the same time she will respect fully their rights and interests there. Accordingly, so soon as the Powers understand the true intentions of Japan, and take suitable steps to make the Nanking Government reconsider their attitude and policy, then and only then a way will have been paved for their cooperation with Japan respecting the settlement of the present conflict.

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C E R T I F I C A T E

Statement of Source and Authenticity

I, H. YASHI, Kaoru, Chief of the Archives Section, Japanese Foreign Office, heroby certify that the document hereto attached in English consisting of 7⁸ pages and entitled "Statement of the Japanese Government regarding Japan's Non-Participation in the Conference of the Nine Power Treaty Signatories, October 27, 1937." is an exact and true copy of an official translation of the Japanese Foreign Office.
document

Certified at Tokyo,
on this 8th day of February, 1947.

(Signed) K. Hayashi
Signature of Official

Witness : (Signed) K. Urabe

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コ、九國條約國會不參加ニ關スル帝國政府ノ聲明

(英譯文附錄第四號ノ通、尙佛譯文ハ十一月二十四日)

宣稱報告書附屬ニニ錄セラル

帝國政府ハ九國條約國會ニ關スル本月二十日附白耳義國政府ノ招請ニ
回答スルノ機會ニ方リ、詳細從來ノ經過ヲ敘シ弘ク其ノ所信ヲ中外ニ開
明セントス

一、支那ハ辛亥革命以來幾多政權ノ興亡アリタルモ其ノ一貫セル對外政策
ハ排外ニアリ、殊ニ中國國民黨カ國民政府ヲ廣東ニ樹立シ中央政權獲
得ノ手段トシテ大正十三年時縣容共政策ヲ採ツテ以來其ノ排外政策ハ
一層尖銳露骨ト爲リ支那民衆ノ排外思想亦頓ニ熾烈ヲ加フルニ至レリ
之カ爲列國ニシテ既得ノ權益ヲ維護供シタルモノ比々皆然ラザルナ
キハ今尙世人ノ記憶ニ新ナル所ニシテ殊ニ最近十年支那ハ排外政策ノ
目標ヲ主トシテ帝國ニ關タリ

帝國ハ夙ニ東亞諸國ノ紀善提攜力東亞安定ノ樞軸ナルヲ確信シ銳意之

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ガ實現ノ爲努力シテ來リ、故中隣邦支那ガ民國革命以來次第ニ國家意識
 ニ目覺メ來レルハ日支ノ依存關係ヲ強固ヲラシムル所以ナリトシ帝國
 ノ歡迎セル所ニシテ、帝國ハ努メテ支那ノ正當ナル國民的要望ニ副ハ
 ソトスルノ政策ヲ採リ、或ハ支那ノ開發自主機關有ニ卒先協力シ、或
 ハ海外法權發展ニ關スル支那ノ要望ニ對シテ好意的態度ヲ表明スル等
 只管日支親善ノ増進ニ努力スルト共ニ支那力之ニ順應シ來ランコトヲ
 待望セリ 然ルニ南京政府ハ帝國ノ如キ同情アル態度ヲ多トセサルノ
 ミナラス、却テ益々排日ノ武器ヲ購シ支那ニ於ケル帝國ノ權益ヲ潰滅
 セシメモンハ已マサラントスルノ態ヲ示シ、特ニ最近數年來ハ排日及
 抗日ヲ以テ國內ノ統一南京政權強化ノ具ニ供シ、宣稱、學校ニ於テハ
 排日ヲ以テ精神教育ノ根幹ト爲シ純眞ナル幼少年時代ヨリ韓隣ヲ仇敵
 視スルノ思想ヲ注入スルカ如キ世界ニ其ノ類ヲ見サルノ暴戾ヲ敢テシ
 其ノ結果帝國ノ平和ナル通商、經濟上ノ活動ノ妨礙ハ固ヨリ我居留民
 ノ安住ヲ威脅成スルニ至リ、進テハ組織的恐怖行爲ニ迄發展シ、單ニ

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茲一兩年ノ例ニ徴スルモ昭和十年十一月ノ上海ニ於ケル水兵殺害事件
ヨリ汕頭、成都、北海、漢口、上海ニ於ケル帝國官民ノ殺害、長沙、
汕頭ニ於ケル邦人住宅ノ爆撃等即係スヘキ事件ノ發見タリ。深ク
事變ヲ憂ヒタル帝國政府ハ即忍以テ對慶力市京政府ノ猛省ヲ促シタル
モ其ノ效ナク、折柄客年暮ノ西安事件生ジ茲ニ國民黨共産黨ノ妥協成
リ、共産分子ハ抗日ノ旗幟ノ下ニ北支前ニ滿洲國擾亂ヲ企圖スルニ
至リ、其ノ勢ノ赴々所望ニ本年七月七日蘆溝橋ニ於ケル支那軍ノ日本
軍不法攻撃事件ヲ惹起スルニ至レリ

三、右事件發生スルヲ帝國政府ハ之ヲ以テ日支間ノ大事ニ立至ラシメザラ
ソコトヲ期シ、直ニ事態不續大局崩壊決ノ計ヲ立テ、作戦上多大ノ犠
牲ヲ忍ソシテ派兵ヲ見合セ、即チ邊境ニテ覺悟ノ上、二十數日ニ亘リ
對極的軍事行動ヲ差控ヘ、以テ慎重處理ノ手段ヲ盡シタルニ反シ、南
京政府ハ却テ松澤何應欽協定ヲ蹂躪シテ南京政府直轄ノ大軍ヲ續々北
上セシメ、帝國軍隊ヲ脅威スルト共ニ現地支那軍ヲ煽動スルノ舉ニ出

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デ、寧願ハ遂ニ全面的衝突ニ迄發展スルニ至レリ
 蓋シ排日チ國內統一ノ具トナル南京政府ハ、最近兩三年日本ヲ目標
 トシテ國民ニ對シ盛ニ宣導思想ヲ鼓吹スル一方多量ノ武器輸入、要
 塞ノ修築、軍隊ノ訓練等ニ依リ急速ニ軍備ヲ強化シタル結果支那宣
 戰ハ自負ノ全ニ驅ラレ國民亦自力ヲ憑信スルニ至リ、帝國ニ對シテ
 即チ構ムノ風潮國內ニ涵漫シ、既ニ今回ノ事變前支那ノ言論機關ハ
 日本及日本人ヲ敵國又ハ敵人ト呼ソデ憚ラザリシモノニシテ、一度
 蘆溝橋ニ事起ルヤ、南京政府ハ自ラ釀成シタル國內情勢ニツラレ、
 帝國ノ恫脅ナル態度及局勢解決ノ方針モ遂ニ施スニ由リカリシ次第
 ナリ

寧願ハ斯ノ如クシテ擴大セラレ北支ノミナラズ中南支各地ニ於ケル
 帝國臣民ハ愈々生命ノ危險ニ具サルニ至リ遂ニ多年營々建設セル
 生活ノ本據ヲ喪テ各地ヨリ全面的ニ引揚クルノ尸ムナキニ至レリ。
 他方上海ニ於テハ、南京政府ハ從來共昭和七年ノ停戰協定ヲ遵守セ
 ズ非武裝地帯内ニ密ニ堅固ナル陣地ヲ構築スル等諸々開戦ヲ誘フ

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所アリ、於茲帝國政府ハ本年六月特ニ協定ニ係明會議ノ開催ヲ求メ
 支那側ノ注意ヲ喚起シタルガ、支那側ハ聊カモ其ノ態度ヲ改メズ、
 北支ニ於ケル衝突勃發スルヤ公然停戰協定ヲ蹂躪シテ正規軍ヲ非武
 裝地帯ニ侵入セシメ、遂ニ八月九日帝國海軍將兵ノ慘殺ヲ輕視トシ
 テ愈々租界攻襲ノ鋒ヲ現シ帝國政府ガ停戰協定ニ係明トモ連絡シ
 隱忍ニ露忍ヲ章ホ、作即上重大ナル不利ヲ忍ンデ、軍事衝突回避ノ
 爲最後ノ臨衝迄百方努力シタルニモ拘ラズ支那側ハ突如租界防備ノ
 帶引電險及我ガ在留民ニ對シ空爆砲臺ヲ加ベ、寡少ナル陸軍兵ハ固
 モリ帝國三萬ノ居留民斃殺ヲ企圖スルニ至レルヲ以テ、事故ニ至リ
 テハ帝國トシテモ自衛ノ爲反擊スルノ餘儀ナキニ至レル次第ナリ
 以上ニ依リ明ナル通事今次事變ノ根源ハ南京政府ノ徹底的排日政策
 ニ存シ、事變擴大ノ直接原因ハ南京政府ガ極端何處欽協定ヲ侵犯シ
 テ中央暨チ大縣北上セシメ、又上海ニ於テ停戰協定ヲ蹂躪シテ兵ヲ
 租界ニ進メタルニアリ、此處ニ於テ遂ニ帝國ハ已ムイタ自衛ノ爲嚴

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起シ、此ノ機ヲニ於テ真正百伍ノ平和確立ノ爲南京政府ノ反省ヲ求メ
 ツツアル次第ナリ。依テ今次事變解決ノ要諦ハ南京政府ニ於テ然共
 ノ非ヲ改メ、日政策ヲ損棄シ日支提携ノ我ガ利益ニ協同スルニアルノ
 三
 百ルニ近年南京政府ヲシテ排日ニ狂奔セシムルニ至レル重要ナル原因
 ノ一ハ、往年滿洲事變ニ際シ、國際聯盟ガ東亞現實ノ事變ヲ無視シテ
 採擇セル決議ニ依リ支那ノ排日政策ヲ鼓舞セル結果ヲ招來セルニアリ
 然ルニ國際聯盟ハ今又卒然南京政府ノ提訴ヲ取上ゲ虛構ノ報告ニ依據
 シ深ク事變ノ原因ヲ究明セル所ナク、九月二十七日ニハ防備最モ嚴重
 ナル南京、廣東ノ軍事施設爆撃ヲ無防備都市ノ空爆ナリト断定シ、
 帝國ヲ非難セルノ決議ヲ爲シ、更ニ十月六日ノ聯盟總會ニ於テ帝國ノ
 行動ヲ以テ九國條約前ニ不禮條約國反ナリト断定セルノミナラズ進デ
 公然支那援助ノ決議ヲ採擇シタルガ如キハ、列國ノ干涉ヲ導入シテ帝
 國ヲ抑ヘントスル南京政府ノ奸策ヲ支援セル結果ト爲リ、支那ノ抗日

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決意ヲ爲スルヲ望ミ、收拾ヲ爲スルヲ望ミ、往年
 ノ過誤ヲ再ビ糾正シツツアルモノト門ハザルヲ得ズ
 抑モ舊日今次ノ行動ガ支那側ノ挑發ニ對スル自衛手段ニシテ九國條約
 違反ノ原因ヲ發生スルノ餘地ナキハ明ナルノミナラズ、近時支那ニ於
 ケル赤化勢力ノ浸潤、国内情勢ノ變化等ニ依リ東亞ノ事態ハ九國條約
 成立當時トハ著シク異レルモノアリ。殊ニ今次招請セラレタル九國條
 約會議參加國ノ大多數ハ畢竟前記諸國ノ決議ニ拘束セラルベキニ委リ、
 假令帝國政府ニ於テ同會議ニ參加スルモ滿洲事變ノ際ニ於ケル諸國ノ
 會議ト同様到底公正ナル結果ヲ期待シ得ズ況ンヤ東亞ニ殆ド利害ノ關
 係ヲ有セザル諸國ヲモ加ヘタル此種ノ會議ハ徒ニ日支兩國ノ民心ヲ刺
 戟シ、却テ事態ヲ益々紛糾セシメ時局收拾ニ毫モ資スル所ナカサルベキ
 ナリ、帝國政府ハ茲ニ參加ヲ拒絕セル次第ナリ
 帝國ハ今ヤ異日一計其軌ヲ排シテ南京政府ノ反省ヲ求メ事態ノ速ナル
 解決ニ邁進セントス。然レドモ帝國ハ固ヨリ列國トノ協同ヲ厭ムセザ

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ルモノニ非ズ。只日支ノ紛争ハ東亞ノ安定ニ共同ノ責任ヲ負擔スル兩
 國間ノ直接交渉ニ依リテノミ之ヲ解決シ得ベキモノニシテ、要ハ兩國
 協和ノ障礙ト爲リ常ニ帝國ノ觀念ヲ脅威シツツアル南京政府ノ排日政
 策ト之ト締結セル赤化勢力トヲ排除シ、以テ日支提携ニ基ク東亞恒久
 ノ平和ヲ確立スルニアリ。從ツテ帝國ハ支那ノ民衆ヲ敵視シ、其ノ領
 土ヲ侵略スルガ如キ意圖ヲキノミテラズ却テ支那國民ノ物質的精神的
 向上ヲ祈念スルモノニシテ、外國ノ在支權益ハ飽ク迄之ヲ尊重シツツ
 列國ト共ニ支那ニ對スル文化的又經濟的協調ヲ期シ居ル次第ナリ。故
 ニ碧野列國ニシテ能ク右帝國ノ真意ヲ理解シ、南京政府ノ反省ヲ促ス
 ニ適切ナル措置ヲ出サルニ於テ茲ニ初メテ今次事變ノ解決ニ門シ帝
 國ト協調ノ途ヲ開クコトヲ得ベキナリ。